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IV.—THE EVOLUTION OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN ENGLISH.

In order to trace the successive steps by which the Lord's Prayer attained to its present form in English, it is necessary to begin with the oldest versions. Besides one semi-poetical and three poetical paraphrases, there are at least five Old English renderings of the prayer as given in Matthew, and three of that in Luke. Two of the renderings of the form in Matthew are by Ælfric, one is represented by a manuscript of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as printed in Skeat's edition of *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, one is the Northumbrian gloss, and the other the (probably) Mercian gloss, both printed in Skeat's edition. The versions of the Lucan form correspond to the last three mentioned. It is to be observed that the first three are West Saxon, and that these alone are translations, the Lindisfarne and Rushworth renderings being only interlinear glosses. All are comparatively late, in their present forms not earlier than 950 to 1000 A. D., as nearly as can be ascertained.

The typical or standard Old English form, obtained from a comparison of all the prose versions, would not greatly differ from that which is here subjoined.¹

Úre Fæder, þú 7e eart on heofonum, sí 7ín nama gehálgod.
Tócume 7ín rice. Geweorðe 7ín willa on eorðan swá swá
on heofonum. Sele ús tó-dæg úrne dæghwamlican hláf.
And forgif ús úre gyltas,² swá swá wé forgifað úrum gylten-
dum.³ And ne læd þú ús on costnunge. Ac álýs ús fram
yfele. Sí hit swá.

A literal translation, adhering to the order of the words, would be:

Our Father, thou that art in heavens, be thy name hallowed. Come (Tocome) thy kingdom. Become thy will in earth as (so as) in heavens. Give us (to us) to-day our daily (day^{whomly}, the second syllable being distributive) bread (loaf). And forgive us (to us) our guilts, as (so as) we forgive our (to our) offenders (guilting ones). And not lead thou us into temptation. But release us from evil. Be it so.

¹ See Appendix I.

² *Or*, scylda.

³ *Or*, scyldigum.

If this be compared with the Authorized Version, and allowance be made for the difference between the ancient and the modern forms of the same words, it will be seen that only the following words are obsolete: *ðe* (A. V. *which*), *sí* (A. V. *be*), *rice* (A. V. *kingdom*), *geweorðe* (A. V. *be done*; *weorðe* still survives in 'Woe worth the day!'), *sele* (A. V. *give*; *sele* now has the meaning 'sell'), *-hwam-* (in *dæghwamlīcan*), *gyllendum* (A. V. *debtors*), *ne* (A. V. *not*), *costnunge* (A. V. *temptation*), *ac* (A. V. *but*), *dlys* (A. V. *deliver*; the second syllable preserved in *release*). Besides, the A. V. substitutes *this day* for *to-day*, *bread* for *loaf* (*hlāf*), *debts* for *guilts* (*gylltas*), the *Amen* of the original for *Sí hit swá*, and inserts *it is* before the second *in heaven*. It further omits *thou* (twice), places the subject before the optative of the second and third sentences, transposes the negative, reduces the plural *heavens* to the singular, and *as as* (or *so as*) to *as*. To these changes must be added the insertion of the doxology, *For thine*,¹ etc. Let us see at what periods these changes were effected.

The next English translation was by Wyclif (1380 or thereabouts). His text of the Lord's Prayer reads:

Oure fadir that art in hevenes, halewid be thi name. Thi kyngdoom come to. Be thi wille don in erthe as in hevene.² gyve to us this dai oure breed over othir substaunce. And forgyve to us oure dettis, as we forgyven to oure dettouris. And lede us not in to temptacioun. But delyvere us fro yvel.³ Amen.

The Wycliffite version, like the Old English, was made after the Vulgate. This will account for the phrase 'over othir substaunce,' which is an attempt at rendering the unmeaning Latin *supersubstantialem*. Only the Lindisfarne glossator had attempted this before, the other translators having invariably recurred to the *quotidianum* of Luke (or of the Old Latin). In Lind. the gloss is *oferwistlic*, the *ofer* translating *super*, and *wistlic*, *substantialem*. Wyclif has, for the *quotidianum* of Luke, the phrase *ech daies*.

We observe that already the indeclinable relative *ðe* (*the*, not to be confounded with our article *the*) has given place to *that* (the

¹ The doxology is found in the Gothic version of Ulfilas. See Appendix II.

² *First version*, As in heven and (*one MS.*, so) in erthe.

³ *First version adds, that is, so be it.* Otherwise the differences between the two versions are merely in spelling, except for the variations of particular manuscripts. These are sometimes important; thus, 'Thi wille be don,' and again, 'In erthe as it is in hevene,' 'Ech dayes breed.'

O. E. *ðæt*), *rice* (Germ. *Reich*) to *kingdom*, *geweorðe* to *be* . . . *done*, *sele* to *give*, *hláf* to *bread*, *gylltas* to *debts*, *gyllendum* to *debtors*, *ne* to *not*, *costnunge* to *temptation*, *álýs* to *deliver*, and *Sí hit swá* to *Amen*. The plural *heavens* is retained at its first occurrence, but becomes the singular at its second. The new words introduced are all derived from Old English, with the exception of *debts*, *debtors*, *temptation*, *deliver*, and *Amen*. Of these the first three are the Latin words of the Pater Noster, merely Anglicized, in the fourth the Latin word (*libera*) with the prefix *de*, and the fifth the original Latin (Hebrew) unchanged. The order of words in the phrase 'hallowed be' is that of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses to the Lucan text (see Appendix I), and hence appears to be of Northern (Anglian) origin. In the next clause the subject is now first, but in the third it is enclosed by the auxiliary and past participle of the passive, *be* . . . *done*. The sign of the dative, *to*, is expressed, whereas in the Old English it is understood from the case-form. *Not* is now in its modern place, after the object of the verb *lead*, instead of before that verb. The *come to* after *kingdom* is found in the Rushworth gloss to the prayer in Matthew, though it there precedes the subject (see Appendix I).

There accordingly remain these changes to be made in later versions, in order to conform the Wycliffite to the Authorized Version: *that* to *which*, *heavens* to *heaven*, *come to* (*adveniat*) to *come* [*be thy will* to *thy will be*, as to *as it is*], *to-day* to *this day*, *over other substance* (*supersubstantialem*) to *daily*, the omission of the dative sign, and the addition of the doxology.

The version by Tyndale (1534) goes a little further. It substitutes *which* for *that*, *heaven* for *heavens*, as *it is*¹ for *as*, *this day* for *to-day*, *daily* for *over other substance* (thus going back to the O. E.), omits the dative sign, and adds the doxology. On the other hand, it retrogrades in some respects, reading, *Let thy kingdom come, fulfilled* for *done*, as *well in earth*, *trespasses* and *trespassers*. With the latter we have no particular concern. The Cranmer Matthew (1539) goes back to *debt* and *debtors*, but is otherwise unchanged from Tyndale, except that *O our* becomes *our*.

The Geneva Bible (1557) is the first that reads *Thy will be done*.² On the other hand, it inserts *even* after *done* and *debts*. Otherwise it is like the Cranmer. The Rheims version (1582)

¹ Already in one or more copies of the Wyclif version.

² If we except the variant reading of Wyclif.

recurs to the Latin, and is less modern than the last two. Finally, the A. V. makes the last change necessary, abandoning the *Let thy kingdom come* of Tyndale and his successors, and returning to the *Thy kingdom come* of Wyclif, only dropping his appended *to*.

The Revised Version makes several innovations: 'As in heaven, so on earth'; 'also have forgiven'; 'bring' for 'lead' (like the Gothic); 'the evil *one*' for 'evil'; besides omitting the doxology, with the O. E. and Wycliffite versions (and the Rheims).

To return to the original O. E. version assumed as a standard, all but five of the thirty-five different words it contains exist as independent words to-day. Of these five, one, *rice*, is the last syllable of *bishopric*, and another, *álys*, has exchanged its old prefix for a new. Of the thirty-eight different words in the A. V., exclusive of the doxology, only five are other than Old English.

APPENDIX I.

The versions by Ælfric, to which reference is made in the text, are contained in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's Homilies, on pages 258 of the first volume and 596 of the second volume respectively. These are denoted by Ælf. 1 and Ælf. 2. In the homily which contains Ælf. 1, the successive clauses of the prayer are again translated as they are commented upon, thus occasioning a number of variants from Ælf. 1. The Cambridge manuscript of the Gospels (C. C. C. C. 140) is taken as the representative of the standard West Saxon version, and is denoted by Corp.; Lind. and Rush. stand for the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses respectively.

For the convenience of the student, the text of the Latin Vulgate and those of the various Old English renderings are here presented clause by clause, the accents of the MSS being disregarded. When Ælf. 1 and its variant are identical, the variant is not entered.

Vulg.	Pater noster, qui es in cœlis.
Ælf. 1.	þu ure Fæder, þe eart on heofonum.
Ælf. 1 var.	Ure Fæder, þe eart on heofonum.
Ælf. 2.	Ðu ure Fæder, þe eart on heofenum.
Corp.	Fæder ure, þu þe eart on heofonum.
Lind.	Fader urer, ðu bist (<i>var.</i> arð) in heofnum (<i>var.</i> heofnas).
Rush.	Fæder ure, þu þe in heofunum earð.

¹A Wycliffite phrase.

Vulg.	Sanctificetur nomen tuum.
Ælf. 1.	Sy þin nama gehalgod.
Ælf. 2.	Sy ðin nama gehalgod.
Corp.	Si þin nama gehalgod.
Lind.	Sie gehalgad noma ðin.
Rush.	Beo gehalgad þin noma.
Vulg.	Adveniat regnum tuum.
Ælf. 1.	Cume ðin rice.
Ælf. 2.	Gecume þin rice.
Corp.	Tobecume þin rice.
Lind.	Tocymeð ric ðin.
Rush.	Cume to þin rice.
Vulg.	Fiat voluntas tua.
Ælf. 1.	Sy ðin wylla.
Ælf. 1 var.	Geweorðe ðin wylla.
Corp.	Gewurpe ðin willa.
Lind.	Sie willo ðin.
Rush.	Weorpe þin willa.
Vulg.	Sicut in cœlo, et in terra.
Ælf. 1.	On eorðan swa swa on heofonum.
Ælf. 2.	Swa swa on heofenum swa eac on eorðan.
Corp.	On eorðan swa swa on heofonum.
Lind.	Suæ is in heofne and in eorðo.
Rush.	Swa swa on heofune swilce on eorpe.
Vulg.	Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie.
Ælf. 1.	Syle us todæg urne dæghwamlican hlaf.
Ælf. 1 var.	Syle us nu todæg urne dæghwamlican hlaf.
Ælf. 2.	Syle us todæg urne dæghwomlican hlaf.
Corp.	Urne gedæghwamlican hlaf syle us todæg.
Lind.	Hlaf userne oferwistlic sel us todæg.
Rush.	Hlaf userne (<i>var.</i> ure) dæghwæmlicu (<i>var.</i> inston- denlice, <i>reading</i> substantialem) sel us todæg.
Vulg.	Et dimitte nobis debita nostra.
Ælf. 1.	And forgyf us ure gyltas.
Ælf. 1 var.	Forgif us ure gyltas.
Ælf. 2.	And forgyf us ure gyltas.
Corp.	And forgyf us ure gyltas.
Lind.	And forgef us scylda usra.
Rush.	And forlet (<i>reading</i> remitte) us ure scylde.

Vulg.	Sicut et nos dimittimus.
Ælf. 1.	Swa swa we forgyfað.
Ælf. 2.	Swa swa we forgyfað.
Corp.	Swa swa we forgyfað.
Lind.	Suæ uoe forgefōn.
Rush.	Swa swa we ec forleten (<i>reading</i> remittimus).
Vulg.	Debitoribus nostris.
Ælf. 1.	Ðam þe wið us agyltað.
Ælf. 1 var.	Ðam mannum þe wið us agyltað.
Ælf. 2.	þam ðe wið us agyltað.
Corp.	Urum gyltendum.
Lind.	Scyldgum usum.
Rush.	þæm þe scyldigat wið us.
Vulg.	Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.
Ælf. 1.	And ne læd ðu na us on costnunge.
Ælf. 1 var.	Ne geðafa, ðu God, þæt we beon gelædde on costnunge (see the Latin text of the Rushworth).
Ælf. 2.	And ne læd þu na us on costnunge.
Corp.	And ne gelæd þu us on costnunge.
Lind.	And ne inlæd usih in costunge.
Rush.	And ne gelaet us gelaede in constungae (<i>reading</i> Et ne patiaris nos induci in t.).
Vulg.	Sed libera nos a malo.
Ælf. 1.	Ac alys us fram yfele.
Ælf. 2.	Ac alys us fram yfele.
Corp.	Ac alys us of yfele.
Lind.	Ah gefrig usich from yfle.
Rush.	Ah gelese us of yfle.
Vulg.	Amen.
Ælf. 1.	Sy hit swa.
Ælf. 2.	Sy hit swa.
Corp.	Soplice.
Lind.	(This and Rush. are lacking, both Latin and gloss.)

The text of the Lucan version is as follows:

Vulg.	Pater, sanctificetur nomen tuum.
Corp.	Ure fæder, þu ðe on heofone eart (from text of Matt.), si þin nama gehalgod.
Lind.	Fader, gehalgad sie noma ðin.
Rush.	Fæder user, seðe is on heofnum (from text of Matt.), gihalgad bið noma ðin.

Vulg.	Adveniat regnum tuum.
Corp.	Tocume þin rice.
Lind.	Tocymæð ric ðin.
Rush.	Tocymeð rice ðin.
Vulg.	(Text of Matt. lacking.)
Corp.	Gewurðe ðin willa on heofone and on eorþan.
Lind.	(Lacking.)
Rush.	Sie willa ðin sie swa on heofne and on eorðo (Latin from Matt.).
Vulg.	Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.
Corp.	Syle us todæg urne dæghwamlican hlaf.
Lind.	Hlaf userne dæghuæmlice sel us eghuelc dæge (<i>reading cotidie</i>).
Rush.	Hlaf userne dæghwæmlice sel us todæge.
Vulg.	Et dimitte nobis peccata nostra.
Corp.	And forgyf us ure gyltas.
Lind.	And forgef us synna usra.
Rush.	And forgef us synne use.
Vulg.	Siquidem et ipsi dimittimus.
Corp.	Swa we forgyfað.
Lind.	Gif fæstlice æc we forgefæs.
Rush.	Swa (<i>reading</i> sicut) fæstlice and ec he (<i>var.</i> we) for- geofas.
Vulg.	Omni debenti nobis.
Corp.	Ælcum þara þe wið us agyltað.
Lind.	Eghuelc scyldge us.
Rush.	Eghwelce scylde user (<i>reading</i> debitoribus nostris).
Vulg.	Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.
Corp.	And ne læd þu us on costnunge.
Lind.	And ne usic onlæd ðu in costunge.
Rush.	And ne usih onlæd ðu in costunge.
Vulg.	(Text of Matt. lacking.)
Corp.	Ac alys us fram yfele (from text of Matt.).
Lind.	(Lacking.)
Rush.	Ah afria usih from yfle (from text of Matt.).

APPENDIX II.

The earliest Teutonic translation is the Gothic (before 380 A. D.), which is here reproduced, with an interlinear translation, for comparison with the Old English. It will be noted that it has the doxology at the end.

Atta unsar, þu in himinam, weihnai namo þein.
 Father our, thou in heavens, be sanctified name thine.

Quimai piudinassus þeins. Wairþai wilja þeins swe in himina
 May come kingdom thine. Become will thine as in heaven

jah ana airthai. Hlaf unsarana þana sinteinan gif uns himma
 also on earth. Bread (loaf) our the daily give us this

daga. Jah aflet uns þata skulans sijaima, swaswe
 day. And forgive (let off) us that owing (we) may be, as

jah weis afletam þaim skulam unsaraim. Jah ni
 also we forgive (let off) (to) the debtors our. And not

briggais uns in fraistubnjai, ak lausei uns of þamma ubilin.
 bring us into temptation, but loose us from the evil.

Unte þeina ist þiudangardi, jah mahts, jah wulþus, in aiwins.
 For thine is kingdom, and might, and glory, in eternity.

Amen.

Amen.

ALBERT S. COOK.